

Re: Contacts with the Ukrainian delegates to the UN

Date: 15 March 1966

Source: [illegible] 1/24 *1/16/66 [illegible]*

On Tuesday, 8 March 1966, at 3:05 PM, (B) met in the UN building SHEVCHENKO as he was walking with KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY to the meeting of one of the Committees. As usually, they were late and therefore in a hurry. After exchanging greetings, SHEVCHENKO asked B. how are the things with him, so B. replied that he is still looking for an opportunity to have a chat with SHEVCHENKO. SHEVCHENKO replied in his usual manner that there is a lot of ~~xxx~~ work at the Mission and at the UN at present, but in a few days when they meet again at the UN SHEVCHENKO might have some time to spend with B. B. replied that it is useless for him to chase SHEVCHENKO all over UN and every day, therefore they should agree as to a definite time and place of meeting. SHEVCHENKO then turned to KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY who were walking a few steps behind and after explaining to them what B. confronted him with asked them, in sort of helpless manner, how would it be possible for him to fulfill B's suggestion. It was noticeable on their faces that KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY were not ~~xxx~~ especially pleased with it, however, they suggested that Friday might be the best day. They explained that at present they have a lot of work in connection with the Human Rights Commission which opened its sessions that day but were expecting that by Friday the work load will lessen considerably. Finally they agreed to meet on Friday during or after the morning session of the Human Rights Commission and parted.

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for Shevchenko, Kochubey
& Chernyavsky file
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On Friday, 11 March 1966, B. was present at the morning session of the Human Rights Commission but could see SHEVCHENKO nowhere. After the session B. approached KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY and asked them about SHEVCHENKO. They replied that he was not there, but as they were talking with him in the morning at the Mission about the meeting, they were under the impression that the meeting was to take place in the afternoon.

In the afternoon B. was waiting for SHEVCHENKO at the entrance to the chamber of the Economic and Social Council where the session of the Human Rights Commission was to take place at 3 PM. It was long since the session has started but there was no sign of SHEVCHENKO. B. was about ready to leave when about 3:40 PM walked in SHEVCHENKO with KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY. SHEVCHENKO and B. proceeded in the direction of the delegates lounge with KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY following closely behind them.

In the lounge SHEVCHENKO asked B. if it will be all right for KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY to join them. B. did not object and suggested to have a drink. SHEVCHENKO was drinking gin but KOCHUBEY and CHERNYAVSKYY had a beer. The conversation went along the topic of ~~different~~ drinks here and in the USSR - variety, popularity, etc. From the conversation it was evident that in the USSR the variety of liquor might be small as compared to the USA, however, the quantity of it is quite substantial. SHEVCHENKO stated that he drinks very seldom and very little and when he has a choice, he prefers gin to all other liquors. CHERNYAVSKYY ~~xxx~~ stated that his favorite is Canadian whisky. When B. mentioned that his ~~xx~~ favorite drink is scotch or cognac, SHEVCHENKO remarked ironically that B. has an expensive West European taste.

The conversation was very tense and it was evident that they carefully prepared themselves for that meeting with B., however, they did not know what to expect of B. So, after about 20 minutes of talking about drinks and other insignificant matters, SHEVCHENKO broke the conversation and asked B. what exactly interests him and what he would like to know about the Ukraine. B. replied that everything interests him and he would like to know about ~~ky~~ the Ukraine as ~~xxx~~ much as possible.

1. At this point KOCHUBEY interrupted and very formally asked the permission to make a comment. Then he said that B. most certainly would like to know the same thing as he does, namely, who is going to be the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR. B. agreed with him and added that it is one of the things that he would like to know.

SHEVCHENKO smiled and replied that he does not know who the minister will be, however, he stated that soon it will be known because he is certain that by the time the 23rd Party Congress will end, the Ukrainian SSR will have a new Minister of Foreign Affairs.

When B. stated that ~~there~~ one Party Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party already took place in October 1965, however, there was not even mention about the ministry, SHEVCHENKO replied that 23rd Congress is on much greater scale and many matters of a great importance will be discussed there. He added that at present the 23rd Congress will play a very significant role. However, he corrected his previous ~~statement~~ statement by saying that he is not certain but only expects that the 23rd Congress will appoint the minister.

B. accused SHEVCHENKO that he still gives evasive answers as to who the new minister will be. SHEVCHENKO explained that it is impossible for him to make any predictions because at

present in the Ukraine there is such a great number of persons perfectly suitable for that position that he does not even know all of their names. To further accusations SHEVCHENKO replied that even if a certain number of suitable candidates for that position were discussed and carefully analyzed, their names are not known to him. He further explained that in their system it is so that every person has its own duties and does not know what the other does. The person or the committee concerned with the question of the ministry most certainly know or have a good idea who the new minister will be, but for himself, SHEVCHENKO added, he is as curious about that question as B. is.

Later on during the conversation, when talking about the CC, SHEVCHENKO mentioned that there are 111 members of the CC CPU, and added it is safe to predict that whoever is going to be the new minister he is going to be one of the 111 members of the CC. When B. stated that it is a very good number to start with, and by elimination of all those members who already have an important positions, those who do not have ~~the~~ proper qualifications, and those ready for retirement, one can come up with a number no more than 11 and see who the eligible candidates for the position of the Minister of Foreign Affairs can be. The only remark to that made CHERNYAVSKYY, saying in a displeased tone, "it was very clever calculation".

At this point CHERNYAVSKYY took upon himself an obligation to make a few additional remarks about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He stated that the fact that the Ukraine was for such a long time without a minister does not mean that it is a step towards a complete liquidation of the Ministry and it does not lead towards any reduction of the present status of the Ukrainian SSR. He attacked the Ukrainian newspapers, ~~for~~ especially "America" and "Svoboda", for making such statements and called it "fiction, unfounded lie, and false accusations".

could happen so, that on Wednesday 9 March 1966, B. had published in "America" a report from the UN under the initials B.M. in which there was also the above mentioned statement about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and it was apparent that they were guessing that B.M. were B's initials)

2. CHERNYAVSKYY further accused the Ukrainian nationalist emigres for not understanding the meaning of criticism. He stated that criticism is good and even welcome if it is done in a good taste, scholarly, and on a serious topic. This kind of criticism they (in the Ukraine) will read and even will pay an attention to, but not the nonsense that the nationalist emigres keep themselves busy with. CHERNYAVSKYY again began attacking "Svoboda" and other Ukrainian newspapers (not naming any) for writing very offending and disgraceful articles about Petro TRONKO (Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Head of the Delegation from the Ukrainian SSR to the 20th Session of the General Assembly of the UN) and his appearance at the UN. He added that the authors of these articles most likely were not even present in the General Assembly at that time, because if they were, their articles would have been written quite differently. B. defended these articles by saying that there was nothing offending in them, and that these articles were fair. In return, CHERNYAVSKYY charged that the journal "Suchasnist" was not much better in that respect and both of its articles ~~were~~ about TRONKO were written in the same offending style of yellow newspaper "Svoboda". He added that the Ukrainian nationalist emigres forgot in their writings one of the most important principles, namely the objectivity.

CHERNYAVSKYY then asked B. if any one of those two articles about TRONKO in the "Suchasnist" were written by him. When

B. replied that neither, ~~he~~ CHERNYAVSKYY asked B. on what byline he is writing for the "Suchasnist", because they were looking in every issue of the journal but could not find any articles with B's byline.

B. managed to avoid answering that question, and in return asked them which of the Ukrainian emigre newspapers and journals they consider most objective. They replied that they do not receive all of the newspapers, but of those familiar to them they consider "ZHYTTYA i SLOVO" (published by the Ukrainian Progressives in Canada) as the most objective, and about the only one. "Suchasnist" in their opinion is basically a good journal, however, too often it prints sharp attacks directed against the Soviet Ukraine.

3. B. asked them then, which of the newspapers and journals they do receive. They replied that "Zhyttya i Slovo" from Canada, and from the USA "Svoboda", "America", and "Ukrayinske Zhyttya", and also journals "Lysty do Pryyateliv" and "Suchasnist".
4. SHEVCHENKO turned the conversation in another direction and started to ask B. a series of questions, with CHERNYAVSKYY helping him.

They were very interested to find out: the attitude of the Ukrainian emigres towards the Soviet Ukraine; what is their position on the question of contacts with the Ukraine; the meaning of the intensive discussions on that topic at the last meetings of the UCCA; the percentage of the Ukrainian emigres favoring such contacts and their intellectual and financial standing; the specific groups or organizations favoring contacts; the activities of the UCCA; the activities and social life of the Ukrainians in general; a special attention was devoted to the Ukrainian youth here:

their life and activities; student organizations; the field of studies; percentage of the youth pursuing a higher education; the amount of Americanization among the youth and what the adults have done in that respect.

To all these questions B. replied in the same manner as they do, giving an avasive answers.

5. The discussion on the above question stimulated SHEVCHENKO to make a statement on the contacts. He emphasized that the cultural contacts of emigres with their native countries have always played a great part, and in the case of every ethnic group. He stated that an emigre group can live only so long without a contact with its native country before becoming completely assimilated. A cultural contact with its native country is about the only sure way for the emigres to retain their national identity.

He expressed approval that at present more and more Ukrainian emigres indicate their approval of the cultural contacts with the Soviet Ukraine. However, at the same time he took an oportunity to attack those Ukrainian nationalist leaders who are of negative attitude towards the contacts and towards the Soviet Ukraine as a whole. To those leaders he had a piece of advice: "the Ukraine survived without them in the past, is doing well at present, and will not miss them in the future".

6. B. asked them about the comming 23rd Party Congress and the preparations for it in the Ukraine. SHEVCHENKO replied in a standard propaganda fashion, and as usually not directly to the question.

He was talking about a great spiritual upheaval of the people in the Ukraine at present. As to the economy, he stated that the Ukraine is leading in that field among all other

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republics in the Union. The Ukraine has fulfilled the 7 Year Plan by 107%, and will do still better in the next 5 Year Plan. He said that it would be useless for him to quote the statistical figures, but he assured that the Ukraine is developing very rapidly in the field of economics at present and there are a great plans in that field for the future.

SHEVCHENKO made no reference to the 23rd Party Congress as such.

7. When B. asked them who of the Ukrainians will be promoted to the CC, Shevchenko answered that it is as difficult to predict as the new Minister of Foreign Affairs. He explained that there are 111 members and about 70 candidates of the CPU and at present is the time for one third of the CC ~~members~~ members to be replaced, therefore it is so difficult to make any guesses, however, he assured that some Ukrainians will be promoted to the CC.

He emphasized that among the Ukrainians there is a great number of very talented and very smart people and they always do get ahead. SHEVCHENKO added that ~~there~~ especially many bright young people ~~amongst them~~ do come from the peasant families like himself, because in their system everyone has an equal chance of advancement. He further stated that already at present there are many Ukrainians in high and important positions in every field not only in the Ukrainian Republic but on the All-Union levels as well. In the future, he predicted, there will be a lot more of the Ukrainians in the All-Union aparatus. He also added that in the Ukrainian SSR all the official positions are occupied by the Ukrainians.

While talking about the Ukrainians in the All-Union aparatus, CHERNYAVSKYY pointed out that FEDORENKO is a Ukrainian, although he has some admixture of Jewish blood. However, he

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was born, raised, and educated in the Ukraine, and is married to a Ukrainian girl from Kiev.

8. At this point SHEVCHENKO made a statement that in the Ukraine there is the least amount of anti-Semitic prejudice in comparison with all other Union Republics.

To B's question, why then was published in the Ukraine HICHKO's book "Yudayzo bez Prykras" which created so much discontent and protest among the European and American Jews, CHERNYAVSKYY replied that he had read that book but could find nothing offending there. He added that the only possible insulting thing in that book could be the sketches but not the text itself. KOCHUBEY added that this book will be republished shortly but this time either without sketches or with different ones.

SHEVCHENKO interrupted the conversation and explained that he has an appointment at 5:15 PM and therefore has to leave with KOCHUBEY. They left but B. continued the conversation with CHERNYAVSKYY.

9. The conversation turned to the topic of cultural contacts. CHERNYAVSKYY stated that the contacts are of a great importance. A good start has been made in that respect, and now it should be further developed. They have already showed a good will and an initiative by sending to the USA and Canada a group of cultural leaders headed by KOLOSOVA, now is the time for the emigres ~~to~~ to do something in that respect. B. replied that it has been long since KOLOSOVA was here, and asked him what has been planned for the future. CHERNYAVSKYY replied that this year they are sending here VIRSKYY and his Kiev Dance Ensemble in May or June. Further, CHERNYAVSKYY said that at one time there ~~xx~~ were some sugges-

tions made as to the exchange of artists, scholars, etc. between the emigres and the Ukraine, and it is a very good idea. In his opinion, the emigres have many good artists and scholars who would be more than welcome in the Ukraine with their concerts, exhibits, and lectures, but it is up to the emigres to turn to them and ask that the arrangements for it would be made.

10. CHERNYAVSKYY started to talk about ~~the~~ the Russification in the Ukraine. He claimed that such thing does not exist, every official in the Ukraine and on every administrative level knows Ukrainian, and the emigres make false accusations. B. pointed out to him that knowing the language and using it are two different things, and this is what concerns the emigres the most. It is very common for a tourist in the Ukraine to be refused a service in a store because he or she spoke in Ukrainian, the lectures at the Ukrainian universities to be presented in Russian, and in general to hear nothing but Russian in the cities of Ukraine.

CHERNYAVSKYY did not deny all this but explained that it is so because the Ukraine has been united with ~~the~~ Russia for 300 yrs and the people are used to Russian language by now. He himself will frequently use Russian if he does not think about it, and usually he will speak Ukrainian only when he is spoken to. Further, he explained that in Soviet Union there are over 200 different languages and with the constant change of residence no one is expected to learn every language. When he graduated from the Polytechnical Institute in Dnipropetrovsk he took a job in TBILISI in Georgian SSR but no one expected him to learn the Georgian language. The same thing happens when someone from another republic comes to the Ukraine. This is the situation all over the Soviet Union and one has to accept it. He

personally cannot see anything wrong with it, especially since it does not lead to a decay of the Ukrainian language. As a proof of a further development of the Ukrainian language he stated that the poetry is the most refined form of expression in any language, and at present there are in the Ukraine the finest poets in ~~in~~ the Union, and even the Russian poets cannot compare to them. The Ukraine has never had such ~~a~~ great young poets and in such a great number.

11. B. remarked that ^{if that} it is the case, ^{are} why ~~the~~ Ukrainian young poets ~~are~~ so frequently and so harshly criticized, their poems are published very seldom or in very small quantity.

CHERNYAVSKYY did not ~~make~~ any comments as to the criticism, however, he went ~~in~~ ^{to} a great length to explain about the publications. He explained that the young poets have their poems seldom printed because the publishing houses are in the hands of older poets who determine what should be published and what should not. It is natural that they publish their own poems first before even considering some young poet.

The small quantity of poems printed is determined by another factor. Before printing any book there is prepared a prospectus which is sent to all the oblast and rayon branches of SOYUZDRUK who order the books from the publishing house. On the bases of these orders is determined the number of books to be printed. He agreed that some of the oblast Soyuzdruks order too small number of books, but they are afraid to order too many because if the books would not be sold out they would be responsible and reprimanded for it.

The conversation could not continue any longer because SHEVCHENKO was ready to leave. After the appointment SHEVCHENKO went to the meeting of the Human Rights Commission and the meeting was just over at that time. B. walked with them towards the cloak room

hoping to be introduced to Petro D. NEDBAYLO who recently came from the Ukraine especially to take part in the Human Rights Commission.

In the cloak room they were getting their coats, however, no one made an attempt to introduce B. to NEDBAYLO. Finally, as they were about to walk out, SHEVCHENKO introduced B. to NEDBAYLO, explaining that he is the chairman of the department of state and law at the Kiev University. SHEVCHENKO mentioned to NEDBAYLO that B. is a correspondent for the journal "Suchasnist" to which NEDBAYLO made a disapproving exclamation. SHEVCHENKO then approached B. and whispered into his ear "see what the people in the Ukraine think of you (the emigres), and I did not even warn him about it".

When they all parted it was 6:10 PM.

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